

England instead of the Church of Rome in blood. We freed ourselves from domestic ecclesiastical vassalage under the Stuarts and established the principles of the *Bill of Rights* in blood. We freed ourselves from the vassalage of taxation without representation under the house of Brunswick and established the principles of the *Declaration of Independence* in blood. We obtained manhood suffrage at great cost in moil and toil and blood and after many centuries of preparation for it.

Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of Democracy, said "I am certain that the negroes will be free, and I am" "equally certain that they can never live on the same" "soil on terms of political equality with the whites."

Abraham Lincoln, the great apostle of Republicanism, in a speech delivered in Charleston, Illinois, on the 18th of September, 1858, said as follows:

"I will say that I am not nor ever have been in favor" "of bringing about in any way the social and political" "equality of the white and black races; that I am not nor" "ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of" "negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office nor to in-" "termarry with white people; and I will say in addition" "to this that there is a physical difference between the" "white and black races which will forever forbid the two" "races living together on terms of social and political" "equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while" "they do remain together, there must be the position of" "superior and inferior; and I, as much as any other man," "am in favor of having the superior position assigned to" "the white race."

And we of the South believe that some plan of gradual enfranchisement on the educational basis which is demanded of white men in Massachusetts, or on the combined educational and property basis which is demanded of white men in Rhode Island, would have been adopted if President Lincoln had been spared. And nothing could have stimulated the illiterate negro and the illiterate white man as much as making the right of suffrage a prize to be won by an educational qualification.

But this great opportunity was thrown away; and in the face of our own race's having attained manhood suffrage only after centuries of preparation for it and at great cost in moil and toil and blood, in face of the condemnation of such a course by our greatest political leaders, including Abraham Lincoln himself, in the face of the fact that manhood suffrage is still denied to illiterates of our own race in New England, in the face of all these facts this great boon was given to the negro without moil or toil on his part, without his having shed a drop of his own blood organized to attain it, and so, entirely without preparation for it. And it was done, not for the benefit of the negro, but as a move on the chess-board of party politics, and the party making the move has been checkmated in ten states ever since. And as suffrage has wrought evil and only evil to the negro ever since, and that continually, we believe that perhaps the best thing is to accompany it with the same sort of educational qualification which accompanies its enjoyment by our race in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and which is demanded of brown men and of yellow men in our new